

The President's Daily Brief

January 20, 1975

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CHINA

The appointments and policy statements approved by the Fourth National People's Congress are clearly designed to stress moderation and continuity. Nevertheless, the brevity of the congress—the first in a decade—and the initial secrecy in which it was held suggest that lingering leadership differences have not been fully ironed out. Although Chairman Mao Tse-tung did not attend the congress, he appears to be still a very active force in Chinese politics.

The reappointment of Chou En-lai as Premier and the naming of his close ally, Yeh Chien-ying, to the sensitive post of defense minister underscore Chou's continuing power and prestige as a senior policy-maker. Teng Hsiao-ping, elevated to the Politburo standing committee and named a vice chairman by the central committee plenum which preceded the congress, appears to be Chou's logical successor.

Chairman Mao

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, who did not attend either the plenum or the congress, has now been away from Peking for over six months. He has only once been absent from the capital for a longer period of time, and that was immediately before the onset of the Cultural Revolution when, he subsequently claimed, he was being circumvented and ignored by political opponents. Mao's continuing meetings with foreign visitors indicate that his health remains reasonably good and suggest that his absence from Peking may have a political justification.

It is possible, for example, that Mao may have been upset with the decision to wind down the anti-Lin, anti-Confucius campaign in July. Propaganda articles issued as late as November, which may well have been reflecting the Chairman's personal views, appeared to be calling for a further effort in the campaign, particularly as it related to an assault on the military's political position.

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If Mao has remained in the countryside as a political gesture, it is likely that he is "sulking in his tent" and has not been deliberately excluded from the capital. The Chairman has clearly kept in touch with developments in the capital

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Although the communiqué issued at the conclusion of the congress makes relatively little mention of Mao personally, the guiding role of "Mao Tse-tung Thought" was written into the new constitution, and the party chairman was designated commander of the armed forces. Moreover, in the course of discussion of the constitution it was specifically noted that one clause in the document was written in at Mao's behest.

Vice Premiers and Ministers

The congress approved a list of 12 vice premiers. Teng Hsiao-ping leads the list, followed by Shanghai party boss Chang Chun-chiao, who gave the report on the revision of the state constitution on behalf of the party central committee. This assignment is another indication that Chang is acting in the post of party secretary general, although he has never been publicly identified in that role.

Only one military figure, Peking Military Region Commander Chen Hsi-lien, was included in the list of vice premiers. This contrasts with four who served in this capacity before the Cultural Revolution, a change that indicates the military has been further circumscribed in its political role.

Even more striking is the downgrading of the political "left." With the possible exception of Chang Chun-chiao, who rose to prominence during the Cultural Revolution but has long seemed to have moderated his political views, no easily recognizable "leftist" was named vice premier. The two most prominent of these figures, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, both of whom had claims to important government jobs, were passed over.

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There are now 29 ministries, compared with the 40 that existed before the Cultural Revolution. The great majority of ministers are veteran bureaucrats, and a number were severely criticized during the Cultural Revolution.

The position of state chairman, which had been held by the disgraced Liu Shao-chi and had figured prominently in the Lin Piao affair, has been abolished. According to Chang Chun-chiao's speech, this and other constitutional revisions were designed to strengthen the party's control over the state structure.

Constitution

The new government constitution, which is less than one third the length of the old one, repeats the fundamentals of moderate economic policies. Compromise is evident, however, in articles which guarantee the right to criticize officials and policies through public debates and wall posters and which state that revolutionary committees will remain as permanent government bodies. Both provisions appear to be a sop to the political left.

Chang Chun-chiao's speech did provide a hint that there may be friction ahead. He noted that while state enterprises have the form of socialist ownership, in some cases leadership is not in the hands of real Marxists and the worker masses. The implication of this phrase is not clear, but it may mean that new political attacks may develop as the "New Leap" economic campaign, now apparently beginning, gathers steam.

CYPRUS

The US embassy in Nicosia is bracing for another assault today. Despite assurances from the Cypriot government that stronger security measures will be in force, there is concern that a determined mob could again break into the building.

Initial reports indicated that the police were breaking up groups of demonstrators as they formed in various locations. The embassy believes, however, that the demonstration planned by government workers, shopkeepers, students, and teachers could grow to 15,000 persons and turn violent. Leftist extremist members of Vassos Lyssarides' party, who have reportedly been in the streets whipping up emotions, may well provide the spark and organization for the day's activities.

Police officials now responsible for embassy security are known to be politically reliable and committed to maintaining order. Lower police and national guard ranks, however, many of whom share the sentiments of the man in the street, may not follow the orders of their superiors. Although embassy officials were "reasonably confident" yesterday that evacuation of embassy personnel would not be required, they did not rule it out.

The situation was generally calm yesterday. The funeral in Limassol of the Greek Cypriot youth killed Friday in a clash between demonstrators and British personnel took place without sparking major protests. This can probably be attributed to tight security measures by Greek Cypriot authorities.

The evacuation of Turkish Cypriot refugees from the British base at Akrotiri continued unimpeded over the weekend and is scheduled to be completed within a week. The road from the refugee area to the Akrotiri airstrip has remained open, and Greek Cypriots have made no effort to interdict traffic.

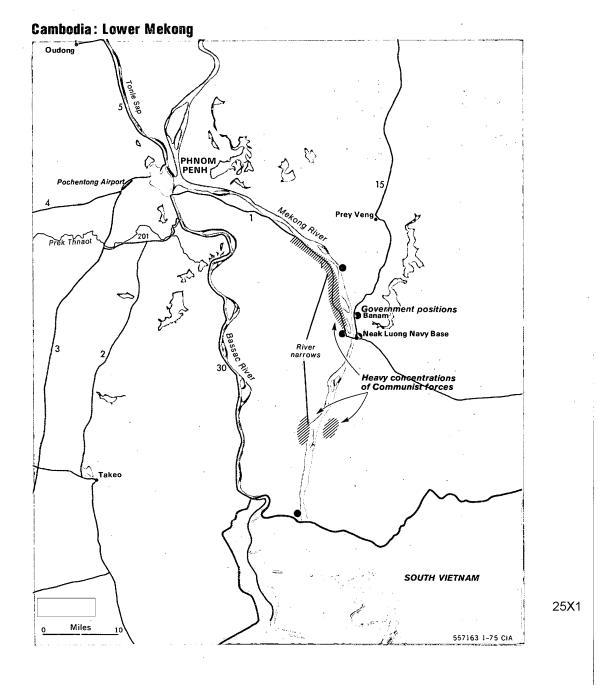
Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash has made what appears to be a reciprocal gesture for the release of the Turkish Cypriot refugees. At the intercommunal talks on Friday he offered to discuss with the Turkish army a plan whereby some 10,000 Greek Cypriot refugees would be permitted to return to their homes northwest of the British base at Dhekelia.

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CAMBODIA

Government forces are taking advantage of reduced Communist pressure in the Phnom Penh area to press a major ground and air effort to reopen the Mekong River corridor.

Supported by heavy air strikes, Cambodian army forces yesterday conducted apparently successful amphibious assaults against several Communist positions along the lower Mekong south of Neak Luong. The assaults are being staged from the Neak Luong area some 30 miles downstream from Phnom Penh.

The first resupply convoy to move up the Mekong from South Vietnam in three weeks may try to get under way today. A successful breakthrough by the convoy, however, depends on the effectiveness of escort security provided by Cambodian air and naval units.

PORTUGAL

The Portuguese cabinet failed to reach a compromise on the controversial labor law Friday and expects to resume debate today. Socialist Party leaders, fearing they will lose the issue to the Communists, planned to meet yesterday to decide whether to leave the coalition if the law should be passed.

In the course of a seven-hour cabinet session Friday, the governing Armed Forces Movement was unable to gain acceptance for a compromise proposal that would trade passage of the Communist-backed labor law for a moderate economic plan favored by the non-communist parties in the coalition.

Communist leader and Minister Without Portfolio Cunhal has said that the cabinet is irreparably split over the dispute. He urges that the coalition be maintained, however, at least until the constituent assembly elections, tentatively set for April.

Socialist leader and Foreign Minister Soares told US Ambassador Carlucci on Saturday that he opposed a walkout and hoped to convince his colleagues to remain in the government. He believes the Popular Democrats will follow the Socialist lead.

The Catholic Church broke its usual silence on political matters Saturday to issue a communiqué opposing the labor law and upholding the rights of workers to select their own unions. The bishops' statement carefully avoided identifying the church with any political party.

OAS

The special meeting of the OAS Permanent Council opening today in Washington could have an important impact on the dialogue between the Latin Americans and the US. The session is being held in response to Venezuela's charge that the US Trade Reform Act constitutes "economic aggression."

We have no evidence that Venezuela has abandoned its original plan to have the Permanent Council convoke a special consultative gathering of OAS foreign ministers, which in effect would act as a "court" with the US in the dock. If the Perez government opts for this, it will be difficult for other Latin American nations to oppose.

Most of the large Latin American nations, including Brazil and Mexico, have sharply criticized the Trade Reform Act. They would, however, probably be content with an agreement to talk the problem out at the hemispheric foreign ministers' meeting in Buenos Aires in March, or at the next OAS General Assembly meeting in April.